

Message Text

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R 211534Z AUG 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MANILA

UNCLAS STATE 183169

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: ICRC, PARM, VN

SUBJECT: GENEVA DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE

FOLLOWING IS A REPEAT

QUOTE

R 011842Z MAR 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4375

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USDEL JEC PARIS

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT MADE BY US REP TO SUBJECT
CONFERENCE ON FEBRUARY 28, DURING DEBATE PRECEDING VOTE
REPORTED REFTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

QUOTE THE QUESTION BEFORE US IS UNUSUALLY PROVOCATIVE IN
A POLITICAL SENSE AND HAS A HIGH INTENSITY OF EMOTION
BEHIND IT ON BOTH SIDES. NEVERTHELESS, I SHALL TRY TO BE
AS OBJECTIVE AS POSSIBLE AND AS BRIEF AS POSSIBLE. AS WE
ALL KNOW, SOMETHING CALLED THE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLU-
TIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM UN-
QUOTE HAS DEPOSITED AN INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION TO THE
GENEVA CONVENTIONS OF 1949, ALTHOUGH I WOULD NOTE WITH AN
UNPRECEDENTED AND SWEEPING RESERVATION WHICH DEPRIVES THIS
INSTRUMENT OF ANY REAL HUMANITARIAN MEANING. IN ANY EVENT,
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IT HAS REQUESTED AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE

DELIBERATIONS OF THIS CONFERENCE. LET US EXAMINE THE SITUATION:

FIRST, WHAT IS SOUGHT BY THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT? IT SEEKS A POSITION IN THIS CONFERENCE EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF A GOVERNMENT OF A STATE, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. IN EFFECT, THIS IS A REQUEST FOR DUAL REPRESENTATION OF A SINGLE STATE. SUCH DUAL REPRESENTATION IS NOT TOTALLY WITHOUT PRECEDENT, BUT IT IS EXTREMELY RARE. I DOUBT IF THERE IS A SINGLE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTED HERE THAT WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SUCH DUAL REPRESENTATION FOR ITSELF.

SECOND, WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THIS PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT?

AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THE PRG MAKES NO CLAIMS TO BE THE GOVERNMENT OF A STATE. IN FACT, THE TERM QUOTE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM UNQUOTE HAS NEVER APPEARED IN ANY FORM SAVE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PHRASE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE.

NOR IS THE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE A TRUE GOVERNMENT. IT HAS NONE OF THE INHERENT ATTRIBUTES OF A GOVERNMENT. IT HAS NO GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS, APART FROM SOME VISIBLE UNITS OF AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED FOR ADVANCEMENT OF ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPIRATIONS. IT HAS NO CAPITAL. IT HAS NO BODY OF LAWS OR JURISPRUDENCE. IT HAS NEITHER THE PERSONALITIES NOR DOMESTIC PROGRAMS WITH WHICH THOSE IT CLAIMS TO GOVERN COULD FREELY ASSOCIATE.

MOREOVER, THE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE IS NOT A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE WAY THAT TERM IS NORMALLY USED. FIRST, IT DOES NOT CLAIMS SUCH STATUS. MOREOVER, ITS ACTIVITIES ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST A WESTERN COLONIAL POWER. NONE IS PRESENT IN THAT REGION, ALL THE PROPAGANDA WE HAVE HEARD TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING. IN EVERY WAY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE ARE AIMED
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SOLELY AT THE DOMINATION OF THEIR OWN COUNTRYMEN. THEY SEEK TO DESTROY SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM, NOT TO ATTAIN IT.

ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL, THE PRG HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN DISOWNED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. FAR MORE PEOPLE HAVE FLED BEFORE ITS MILITARY ATTACKS AND TERRORISM THAN THE NUMBERS OF PERSONS PRESENTLY UNDER ITS CONTROL. WHILE ANY ESTIMATE OF THE DEGREE OF ITS CONTROL

IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS AT BEST AN APPROXIMATION, OUR BEST ESTIMATE IS THAT NOT MORE THAN ONE SOUTH VIETNAMESE IN TWENTY IS TODAY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PRG. FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, ONE MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO ASK WHETHER, IF THE PRG IS NOT A STATE, NOT A GOVERNMENT, AND NOT A NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THEN DOES IT EXIST? THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS YES - ITS EXISTENCE IS TESTIFIED TO MOST NOTABLY BY THE EXTENSIVE HOSTILITIES AND PROPAGANDA CARRIED OUT IN ITS NAME.

THE PRG IN OUR JUDGEMENT IS A BRUTAL FACT IN A PROLONGED AND BITTER CONFLICT. ITS ARMED FORCES ARE THE SOLE EVIDENCE OF ITS PRESENCE WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, BUT THEY ARE NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PRG, NOR ARE THE VAST MAJORITY OF THESE FORCES OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE ORIGIN. QUITE THE CONTRARY, THESE FORCES ARE CONTROLLED AND ORIGINATE ELSEWHERE. IN SUM, THE QUOTE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE, I SUBMIT, HAS NO MEANING WHATSOEVER APART FROM THE INVADING ARMY WITH WHICH IT COLLABORATES AS A CIVILIAN FOREFRONT OF AN EXTERNALLY DIRECTED POLITICO-MILITARY CAMPAIGN.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM - AND WITH THAT PURPOSE ALONE - THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ACCEPTED THE PRESENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PRG AT THE NEGOTIATION AND SIGNATURE OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 1973. AS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATORS OF THAT AGREEMENT I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANY ROOM FOR DOUBT THAT THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES REJECTED COMPLETELY THE GOVERNMENTAL PRETENSIONS OF THE PRG. THE UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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AGREEMENT PROVIDED FOR A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE AND FOR PROCEDURES TO PRODUCE RECONCILIATION WHICH UNFORTUNATELY HAVE NOT BEEN TERRIBLY SUCCESSFUL. IT DID NOT RECOGNIZE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. WE WENT TO GREAT LENGTHS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE - EVEN IN THE SHAPE OF THE TABLE - AND IN THE FORM AND CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENTS TO AVOID PROVIDING ANY BASIS FOR ALLEGATIONS THAT WE HAD RECOGNIZED THE PRG. WE HAD A PREMONITION OF THE TYPES OF ARGUMENTS WE HAVE HEARD HERE. AND THESE ARGUMENTS, I BELIEVE, TELL US MUCH ABOUT THE REAL PURPOSES BEHIND THE ATTEMPTS TO SEAT THE PRH AT THIS CONFERENCE. IT IS THE HOPE FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE, NOT THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, THAT INSPIRES THEM.

I BELIEVE THAT IF THE GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED HERE CAN ENVISION THEMSELVES IN A POSITION LIKE THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM - THAT IS TO SAY,

WITH AN EXTERNAL ATTACK OPERATING UNDER THE COVER OF A
LOCAL ORGANIZATION - THEY WILL AGREE THAT EFFORTS TO
SUBVERT THEM BY OBTAINING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF
THIS SHADOW ORGANIZATION AS A SECOND GOVERNMENT WITHIN A
SINGLE STATE ARE INADMISSIBLE AND MUST BE RESISTED
RESOLUTELY.

WE RECOGNIZE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT THIS CONFERENCE HAS A
SPECIAL CHARACTER, RESULTING FROM ITS TASK TO DEVELOP
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW, AND THAT THERE ARE SOME
CONSIDERATIONS FAVORING THE INCLUSION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ENTITIES IN THIS CONFERENCE. A NUMBER OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS ARE PRESENT AND WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THESE IN
OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISES ON THE
QUESTION OF THE PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS. HOWEVER, FOR THE REASONS I HAVE ALREADY DIS-
CUSSED, THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT IS
QUITE A DIFFERENT THING, AND IT DEMANDS A PLACE AS A
GOVERNMENT, NOT AS A MOVEMENT. I URGE THE MEMBERS OF
THIS CONFERENCE TO HAVE THE COURAGE AND THE GOOD SENSE TO
SEE IT FOR WHAT IT IS AND TO OPPOSE ITS ADMISSION TO THIS
CONFERENCE. END TEXT. DALE UNQUOTE. KISSINGER
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